

OCTOBER

1991

Alternative

Information

Record

AIRMAIL



This issue concentrates on resources for peace in Ireland, specifically Northern Ireland. The number and variety of such resources has, we feel, been insufficiently recognised. These resources can help supply a better understanding of the problems there. AIR 7 also contains an annotated reading list on the subject of 'just war' theories and the ethics of deterrence. Issue eight will be a general one and issue nine will deal with environmental resources.

Librarians Within the Peace Movement (LWPM) and AIR were defended in a recent issue of New Library World (NLW) by a reader who disagreed with the attack on us by Wilfred Ashworth who writes for NLW. Ashworth had said in print that we were a bad example ie librarians should not be concerned with politics in their own time. Judging by our mail though, many people in these islands and internationally (We send AIR to many countries) want us to continue to inform them about resources for a more peaceful world. We will do so. Declan McHugh's article on LWPM and AIR was featured on the front page of the Summer 1991 Teachers for Peace newsletter. We have also been networking information to Link (the North/South librarians group) which we have received from LIWO, the nonracial librarians group in South Africa.

Although our readership has expanded, our expenses have also risen. We've done some calculations (available from us with a SAE) of the cost of photocopying, printing, phonecalls, travel, postage, stationery, etc, and we need to raise our subscription rates if we are not to be in financial difficulties. The new rates are on the back page. We hope that people will stay with us and that anyone receiving this issue who has not renewed or begun their subscription will do so quickly and help our funds. At present we are digging into our own pockets to cover costs. We are very grateful to our new subscribers and those who have sent us donations; more would be most welcome!



Dec 1991

AIR is not a profit-making enterprise - it is a labour of love. Putting an issue of AIR together involves research, typing and word-processing articles and letters, and making phonecalls. All done late at night after we finish our already demanding day-jobs. We also have meetings, which involve travel, to put together the issues and discuss developments. We are presently applying for grants to help us buy computer and other equipment which would make the job of producing AIR much easier.

Issue seven was written by Declan McHugh and produced by Martyn Lowe, Helen Hayes and Declan McHugh.

### RESOURCES FOR PEACE IN IRELAND

It takes less than one hour to fly from London to Belfast. Those of us in Britain, and elsewhere, who are interested in the creation of a more peaceful world should not ignore Northern Ireland: it may be our severest test. However, we can do nothing constructive - indeed it is very possible we may make things worse - if we do not understand the background, the present situation, and what resources exist. AIR can only provide the last of these since it is not the purpose of this periodical to advance a particular political perspective. There is no attempt here to put forward a solution. Our one guiding principle in the selection of resources is a firm belief in nonviolence including understanding, reconciliation work, and the search for non-discriminatory justice.

There are many resources so the following can only be a selection of some of the more important ones, and certainly is not intended to be comprehensive. Apologies for the lack of complete details eg publisher, in some cases below. This is because some recommendations come from recent conversations with respected individuals involved with peace work in Northern Ireland.

### ORGANISATIONS IN BRITAIN

#### NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

In Britain the National Peace Council is the umbrella body for most of the British peace movement. It has long had an interest in Northern Ireland. In 1988 the NPC decided to set up a Northern Ireland Working Group which would comprise delegates from member groups who wanted to work on the issue. "The aims of the working group are to ensure effective communication between British peace groups concerned about or working in Northern Ireland, and to develop ways

in which we can make a positive contribution to peace processes in Northern Ireland".

Since 1988 the NPC newsletter has regularly reported on the work of the Working Group which has met every four to six weeks. Current members of the Group include representatives from: European Nuclear Disarmament (END); Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR); Gandhi Foundation; Mothers for Peace; Quaker Peace and Service (QPS); Pax Christi; Peace People; Peace Pledge Union (PPU); Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

Most of these organisations have themselves produced resources eg FoR's pack "An introduction to Northern Ireland" (available from 40 Harleyford Road, London SE11. Telephone: 071 5829054); a Pax Christi reading list and an exhibition (available from 9 Henry Road, London N4. Telephone: 081 8004612); various pamphlets from the PPU (available from 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1. Telephone: 071 3875501), and Quaker Peace and Service's useful reading list on Northern Ireland (available for a stamped, self-addressed envelope from Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1. Telephone: 071 3873601).

For further information on the NPC and its Working Group contact the NPC: 88 Islington High Street, London N1 8EG. Telephone: 071 354 5200. The NPC newsletter can be obtained from the office, price 50p.

#### Peace Pack

The NPC Working Group has produced a 40 page Peace Pack on Northern Ireland which is the most comprehensive pack on the subject produced yet in Britain. Sections cover: 'Background to the conflict'; 'Political parties, paramilitary organisations, security forces and political options'; 'Civil rights issues'; 'Resources'; 'Suggestions for actions'; 'Women and Northern Ireland'; 'Discrimination'; 'The Brooke Talks'; 'The Anglo-Irish Agreement'.

The pack costs £4.50 (excluding postage and packing) and is available from the above address. Highly recommended.

#### NEW CONSENSUS

This new group has three sections: one in Northern Ireland, one in Ireland and one in Britain. The group condemns violence and intimidation in Northern Ireland by paramilitaries, and "unnecessary or unlawful"

State violence, supports people's rights to pursue political aspirations democratically, and wants to see devolved government in the North with genuine power-sharing and a Bill of Rights. "Lasting peace in these islands must be based on mutual respect, civil liberty, freely-given allegiance and respect for democratic methods of achieving political goals. These principles must apply to all, including the British and Irish governments".

Those involved include MPs from the three major British political parties, peace movement activists, trade unionists and others. Contact address for the British section is Room 414, 1 Cannon Row, Derby Gate, London SW1.

#### ORGANISATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

Three important directories give details of some of these organisations:

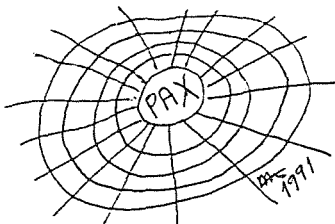
1) Ian Ellis's "Peace and Reconciliation Projects in Ireland", Third Edition, revised, 1987. £1.50 (excluding postage and packing). Copies Available from the Peace Education Resources Centre (address below).

2) Lisa Harper's "Peace Work in Northern Ireland", the United World Trust, 1990. Copies available from the National Peace Council, address above. Price: £2 (excluding postage and packing).

3) The Community Relations Council's "A Guide To Peace and Reconciliation Groups", October 1990. Write to the Community Relations Council, 6 Murray Street, Belfast BT1 6DN for price details.

There is a degree of overlap between these directories but there are also differences in coverage. The Ellis one features the most groups but is also the most out-dated. Lisa Harper's 28 page booklet gives the most information about the background, aims and activities of the 21 peace groups she features. None of the directories is fully comprehensive; new groups regular appear.

WEB OF PEACE



The work of only a few of Northern Ireland's peace groups will be briefly described here; there are probably around 100. All are important in seeking to provide non-violent alternative approaches to tackling Northern Ireland's problems. Although there is no formal forum which binds these groups together, their work reinforces one another and has a cumulative effect.

#### CAMPAIGN FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE (CAJ)

CAJ is an independent organisation which was established in 1981 and has about 250 members. It operates as a pressure group and seeks the application of internationally agreed human rights standards in Northern Ireland. CAJ believes that abuses of human rights by the state are wrong in themselves, and also counter-productive. Issues include legislation, policing, courts, prison, discrimination, A Bill of Rights, individual cases where civil liberties have been abused, and social legislation.

CAJ produces a monthly bulletin 'Just News' which is Northern Ireland's only publication dealing specifically with civil liberties issues. It also publishes briefings and provides information to the public, press and politicians, and other community and civil liberties groups. CAJ has a resource library and a newspaper clipping service is offered. The CAJ address is: 45/47 Donegall Street, Belfast BT1 2FG. Telephone: 0232 232394.

The CAJ handbook "Civil liberties in Northern Ireland" is an important resource available from this address, price £4.95, excluding postage and packing.

#### PEACE PEOPLE

The Peace People was founded in 1976. It currently does work in five specific areas: 1) the Youth for Peace network 2) welfare work such as providing non-paramilitary transport to prisons for prisoners' relatives, help with children, etc 3) justice issues eg publicising cases of injustice and seeking the repeal of unjust laws 4) The Peace People Farm Project which is a house in the countryside serving as a quiet space for looking at creative, nonviolent ways of dealing with conflict, as well as being a residential centre 5) the 'Peace by Peace' newsletter.

The Peace People address is: "Fredheim", 224 Lisburn Road, Belfast 9. Telephone: 0232 663465.

"Along the road to Peace; fifteen years with the Peace People", compiled by Rhoda Watson, can be obtained from this address.

#### PEACE EDUCATION RESOURCES CENTRE (PERC)

Norman Richardson is in charge of the PERC collection of peace resources. These resources deal with violence and its alternatives in Northern Ireland, but the Centre has a wider perspective and many resources also relate Northern Ireland's problems to other conflicts in the world and the attempts of peacemakers such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King to defuse violence and remove its causes nonviolently. The resources can be looked at in the Centre, or an excellent catalogue is available of resources which can be bought. The address of the PERC is: 48 Elmwood Avenue, Belfast BT9 6AZ. Telephone: 0232 663145.

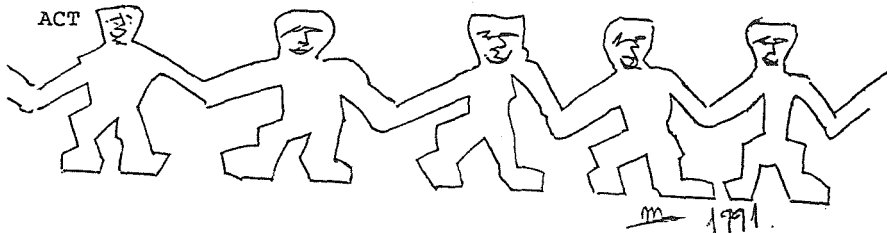
#### LINENHALL LIBRARY COLLECTION

A previous issue of AIR described this unique collection; unique because it consists of materials of all kinds generated by the conflict. newsletters, badges, photographs, books are all included whether they advocate peaceful or violent solutions in Northern Ireland. This collection is of great importance for those studying the conflict and has an international reputation. Its policy of excluding nothing has given it the unusual distinction of being praised by all parties in Northern Ireland.

#### INNATE.

Rob Fairmichael started and helps coordinate the Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training, or INNATE. This is a loosely organised nonviolent network which produces a quarterly news-sheet. Rob also produces an occasional magazine called "Dawn Train". Issues have covered contemporary nonviolent campaigning in Ireland and peacemakers from the past. NAT, the Nonviolent Action Training Project, run by Rob is presently seeking further funding but will be producing a nonviolence training pack.

Rob's address is: 16 Ravensdene Park, Belfast BT6 ODA. Telephone: 0232 647106.



ACT is one of a few organisations in Northern Ireland who are promoting and practically helping the development of integrated education there. At the moment most schools are segregated along religious lines, but the integrated movement is gathering strength. Information about schools that exist, problems, and future plans is available from: 13 University Street, Belfast, BT7 1FY. Telephone: 0232 327335.

#### OTHER BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC

##### FORTNIGHT

Fortnight magazine comes from Northern Ireland and is an absolutely indispensable aid to those wishing to keep abreast of political developments there. The magazine began in 1970; the current editor is Robin Wilson. Wilson promotes a non-partisan and peace-seeking - but questioning - editorial perspective. Although the editorial line might be non-partisan, Wilson and his editorial committee believe that stifling debate is wrong and prove this by the policy of allowing individuals with totally opposing views to have those views presented within the pages of Fortnight. Another quality of the magazine is a prevailing sense of humour! My only possible criticism of the magazine is that the debate is conducted at such a high level that many grassroots peace activists might find it hard to follow at times, especially if coming completely new to the subject.

Fortnight appears fortnightly as the title states and costs £1.40 per issue. A subscription to Fortnight would be an excellent Christmas present for anyone genuinely trying to understand Northern Ireland and interested in furthering the cause of peace there.

A Fortnight Anthology from Blackstock Press covering the over 20 years of the magazine's existence will appear shortly, and apart from the insights into developments over time that the anthology will give, it will be important because it will also feature a very detailed annotated chronology of the period.

Fortnight's address is: 7 Lower Crescent, Belfast BT7. Telephone: 0232 232 353.

## MISCELLANEOUS RESOURCES

"The Irish in Britain Directory", compiled by Geraldine Vesey.

"Northern Ireland Political Directory", by W.D. Flackes. This is a very useful resource by a respected and veteran commentator on the political affairs of Northern Ireland.

John White "Interpreting Northern Ireland", Clarendon Press (hardback), 1990.

Adrian Guelke "Northern Ireland: the International perspective".

David Miller "Queens Rebels: Ulster Loyalism in its historical perspective". Published in the 1970s this book still provides a valuable insight into the thinking of loyalists (those, usually but not exclusively Protestant, who want to maintain the union with Britain).

Minority Rights Group Report No 2, "The Two Irelands; the Double Minority", new 1984 edition.

"JUST BOOKS on Ireland catalogue". Just Books is a radical cooperative bookshop. Address: 7 Winetavern Street, Smithfield, Belfast BT1 1JQ. Telephone: 0232 225426.

Cassette Tape: 'Ireland - What are they fighting about?', by J. Campbell and J. Liech. 1989. Available from the Greenhouse, St. Luke's Church, Penn Road, London N& 9RE. Write to them for price details.



## ANNOTATED READING LIST ON THE MORALITY OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE.

With the officially recognised end of the cold war, the need to re-examine the morality of the policy of nuclear deterrence which continues to hold the world hostage is greater than ever. This policy continues to be justified by the US, USSR, UK, France and China despite a lessening of



superpower tensions which would have been considered impossible a few years ago. The books and pamphlets mentioned below are an aid to this process of the examination of the moral consequences of adherence to deterrence. Most are from the early 1980s when the threat, and fear, of nuclear suicide was perhaps at its height.

1) "Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope", by Ronald J. Sider and Richard K. Taylor, Hodder and Stoughton, 1982. 428 pages.

The first section of this important American book describes in detail what is at stake: what will happen to us if deterrence fails and an exchange of nuclear weapons occurs. This section is interspersed with photographs from Hiroshima and Nagasaki and draws on many official reports of what nuclear war is likely to be like. The book goes on to present an excellent and painstaking examination and critique of all the variants of the just war and deterrence theories. All are found to be incompatible with true Christianity. The denunciation is explicit and unconditional. "All Christians in all places must join together to say no to such Satanic plans" (p78).

Other chapters advise actions that Christians should take and describe how nonmilitary defence has worked and could work. There are very useful bibliographies, plus annotated lists of organisations working for peace and even an annotated list of Audio-visual materials. Apart from a few unfounded, dismissive remarks about the capacity for other religious traditions to live up to the ethical standards prescribed here, this book is highly recommended.

2) "Just and Unjust Wars; a moral argument with historical illustrations", by Michael Walzer, Penguin, 1977. 361 pages.

This book is an exercise in moral philosophy and has been described as the best book in the just war tradition in the twentieth century. It is, however, the hardest book in this reading list to read because of Walzer's sophisticated literary style and because he draws out very subtle ramifications of the arguments he addresses. On p283 he says that "nuclear war is and will remain morally unacceptable, and there is no case for its rehabilitation" but a few lines later says that "deterrence itself, for all its criminality, falls or may fall for the moment under the standard of necessity".



3) "Nuclear Deterrence: what does the Church teach?" by Brian Wicker, the Incorporated Catholic Truth Society, 1985. 37 pages.

Wicker was Chairman of British Pax Christi. This important pamphlet deals in some detail with the views of Catholic authorities on questions of deterrence and morality. Taking as its starting point the fact that "Catholic teaching is increasingly critical of deterrence policies to the point of becoming irreconcilable with current strategic orthodoxy", it argues forcefully that "all nuclear deterrence policies involve a conditional intention to engage in nuclear war...the Church's teaching is clear that nuclear war could never be justified. Because an intention to do something unjust is in itself unjust, the conclusion is unavoidable that nuclear deterrence as a policy for defence is unjustifiable". Wicker, however, believes (in line with Pope John Paul's 1982 pronouncement) that "a temporary acceptance of a minimal nuclear deterrence is a morally tolerable concession, provided it is seen only as a step in the right direction, not as a permanent solution to the problem of security".

4) "The Church and the Bomb; Nuclear weapons and Christian conscience", Hodder and Stoughton, 1982. 190 pages.

This book was the report of a Church of England working party chaired by the Bishop of Salisbury. It is written in dispassionate language which often chills because of the extreme horror of what is being discussed. The real dilemmas of the dangers inherent in a world in which the nuclear genie is out of the bottle are in no way shied away from, but on page 154 the conclusion is reached that "we believe that a nuclear component in deterrence is not sufficiently compelling to outweigh the huge moral imperatives against using nuclear weapons at all". It is worth noting that the authors reach this conclusion despite a very pessimistic analysis of the motivations and strategies of the USSR which is now anachronistic in the light of

the huge changes in that country since the book was published.

5) "Ethics and nuclear weapons" by Jeremy Naydler, Fox and Lantern Press, 1984. 21 pages.

This elegantly written pamphlet goes through the historical and contemporary arguments of those who argue for and against deterrence but concludes in a section called 'the moral primacy of intentions' that "we should, I think, assent to the conclusion that the possession of nuclear weapons is morally wrong...to seek to preserve peace, freedom and justice by threatening to murder millions of innocent civilians undermines the value of peace, freedom and justice at their root" (p21).

6) Andrew Wilson's "The Disarmer's Handbook of Military Technology and Organization", Penguin books, 1983. Chapter 20 is 10 pages long.

Chapter 20 is an excellent, if brief and schematic overview of "Ethics and war - Reason and Religion" covering: Christian teaching (St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, etc); the 'just war'; recent Catholic teaching; the Anglican position; 'just deterrence'; pacifism; Kant, Hobbes and Hume; Tolstoy and Gandhi. There is a good further reading section.

Other books: "Unholy Warfare: the Church and the Bomb", edited by David Martin and Peter Mullen, Blackwells, 1983. "Ethics & European Security", edited by Barrie Paskins, Croom Helm, 1986. "Just Deterrence; Morality and Deterrence into the Twenty-First Century", edited by Malcolm McCall and Oliver Ramsbotham, Brassey's, 1990. "The Big Sin; Christianity and the arms race", by Kenneth Greet, Marshalls, 1982. "A Christian approach to National Defence", by A. Willmot, Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd, 1983. "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and our Response; The US Bishops' Pastoral letter on War and Peace in the Nuclear Age", Incorporated Catholic Truth Society and SPCK, 1983.

THE GOOD, THE BAD AND IDIOTIC

"Every individual has a right to his or her own personal opinions and may express them freely, but it is a different matter if those views conflict with and affect their employment."

WILFRED ASHWORTH - June issue of New Library World.



"I made love to Amanda in Library" (The Sun, Sept 91).

"This is the year when people who love public libraries must all shout and protest and make as many speeches as they can... Libraries are not just places of entertainment. They are tools of freedom" (quote from Gillian Cross, the 1991 winner of the Carnegie Medal which is the most important prize for fiction for children).

"The only thing that could save him from a mind-numbing life of lectures and libraries was his band" (Melody Maker, October 12 1991).

"The popular conception of libraries is of bespectacled old ladies in twin-set and pearls looking after shelves of dull and dusty volumes... but of course few libraries conform to this image; most offer a wide range of services and many specialise in particular subject areas, ranging from carboniferous limestone to Swiss dairy delicacies!" (From 'City X' Midlands Student magazine, Autumn 1991)

The new rates for subscription to AIR are as follows:

Individuals

U.K. - £6.00. Air - Mail - £10.00.  
Europe & World - Wide - Surface - Mail ( E.W.W. ) - £8.00.

Voluntary Sector.

U.K. - £8.00. Air - Mail - £12.00. E.W.W. - £10.00.

Funded Institutions

U.K. - £10.00. Air-Mail - £14.00. E.W.W. - £12.00.

Please make all cheques (subscriptions and donations) payable to 'LWPM' NOT to AIR - we had a number sent to us which we have had to return.

Last issue's 'deliberate' mistake was to miss off the address of 'At Ease' the counselling organisation for soldiers who wish to leave the armed forces. The address is:

Whatever your problem contact us:  
Sundays 5-7 pm 28 Commercial Street London E1 6LS  
Telephone (071) 247 5164

It is appropriate that they get mentioned in this issue again because many of their clients are soldiers unhappy at the prospect of going to Northern Ireland or because they have been there.

**THOUGHT FOR THE ISSUE**

Remember your humanity and forget the rest -  
Bertrand Russell.

A I R is the journal of L.W.P.M.  
Librarians Within the Peace Movement,  
c/o 6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1.

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